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## The Embattled CIA

Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, has testified in secret before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The public consequently does not know as much as it might in regard to highly circumstantial charges that the CIA blundered woefully in evaluating the temper of the Cuban people toward Fidel Castro and the chances of mass defections to the ill-starred rebel invaders.

Chairman Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee, who heard Mr. Dulles, has decried any effort to single out one scapegoat and, in a statement unusual in tone for the Arkansas senator, who has often been severe in his own specific criticisms, has cryptically declared that we, the American public, all share in the responsibility. Too much time should not be lost, it is true, in raking over the dead ashes of past mistakes. Yet we need some realistic pinpointing of responsibility for those mistakes so as to avoid their repetition.

There is no doubt that there will be a widespread feeling of relief if Mr. Dulles steps down as head of the CIA. First and last there has been too much reason to suspect—if, indeed, there has not been direct evidence—that under him the CIA has blundered, again and again, not only in Cuba but in other parts of a world made tense by the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism.

It can be assumed that Allen Dulles reported his findings, whatever they were, to his late brother, John Foster Dulles, secretary of state. It was primarily for the information of the President and the secretary of state in their conduct of our foreign affairs that the CIA was created. When the President delegates and entrusts our foreign policy to his secretary of state as largely as Eisenhower did to Secretary Dulles, the latter's actions must be studied still more closely for indications of the degree to which they were affected by information or advice

John Foster Dulles was a dedicated public servant who gallantly suffered great pain in his last illness yet performed his official duties as long as his condition made it possible. But he made what history has since demonstrated to have been grave mistakes. How far were these due to information he received from his brother? When he withdrew from Abdel Nasser our support for the Aswan Dam on the Nile in a way deliberately intended to humiliate Nasser it proved that, by miscalculating the temper of the Arab nations, we had actually done Nasser a service and had helped, at a time when he needed help, to

make him a hero in the eyes of the Arab peoples.

Another of the numerous grave mistakes made by Secretary Dulles was his handling of news from within Communist China. Without regard to the possible recognition of Communist China and admission to the United Nations, it has not been to our advantage that we have had to depend on British or other newsmen than our own for reports as to what has actually been happening within the borders of Communist China with special regard to such matters as the apparent failure of collectivist farming and threats of starvation.

Yet on one day Secretary Dulles professed to believe that our Trading With the Enemy Act, since we are still nominally at war with Communist China, prevented the granting of visas to American correspondents and on the next day was apparently ready to grant visas to a selected group of American correspondents but was unwilling to admit Chinese correspondents within our own borders when that was demanded as a reciprocal exchange. The Chinese correspondents, if admitted, would have been known and, so to speak, tagged. Their comings and goings, however free, could easily have been followed. They might have learned

something of the successful operation of free enterprise and carried it back to China, to our advantage. But again the question arises whether all this was made impossible by the information or advice given to Secretary Dulles by his brother.

The least that can be said is that public confidence in the CIA has been gravely impaired. It has been brought out that the CIA, established in 1947 for a wise and legitimate purpose in combatting communism, is so secret, as perhaps it should be, that its budget and the size of its staff are known only to a few members of Congress and that its headquarters staff is scattered throughout Washington in 30 or more buildings but will eventually move into a new building, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, almost as large as the Defense Department's famous Pentagon, still referred to as the biggest office building in the world.

Whatever may have been the failings or the virtues of Allen Dulles as head of the CIA it is a fact that there are very able men in the large force under him. How they have been identified as members of the CIA and have furnished confidential but extremely valuable background information is a matter for newspapers who have had the advantage of contact with them to reserve in accordance with the best traditions of the press. There is not only hope in such men and the confidential criticisms which they have

dared to make of government operations in the past, but there is hope of restored confidence in the CIA now that President Kennedy has named Dr. James R. Killian, chairman of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to head the permanent board that will advise the President as to our foreign intelligence activities. It is to be noted that this is a permanent body, distinct from the temporary group headed by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, appointed by President Kennedy for the special investigation of intelligence activities connected with the Cuban landing.